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20 October 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

SUBJECT: Message from Prime Minister Bhutto

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2. "Karachi. 19 October 1973

"The following is from Prime Minister Bhutto to Secretary Kissinger.

"I thank you for the reply to my message of 16th of October from Tehran, which was delivered to me at Ankara on 18th morning.

"I have returned to Pakistan this afternoon after visiting Riyadh. As conveyed to Helms, I had felt a discussion with Syrian leaders could have been beneficial, but in view of your message I dropped the idea of visiting Damascus.

"My Ambassador in Syria flew to Riyadh to deliver yet another appeal to me from the President of Syria for military assistance. He also conveyed to me that President El Assad was anxiously looking forward to my meeting with him. I have instructed my Ambassador to convey to the Syrian leaders the

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contents of paragraph 4 of your message and told him to emphasize your determination to promote a speedy and just settlement in the Middle East.

"I also put your point of view forcefully to King Faisal. He was insistent on a guarantee of Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories as a condition precedent to cease-fire. I asked him specifically whether the Arab position on Security Council Resolution 242 left room for flexibility on the extent of the withdrawal. Faisal repeated that Israel must withdraw from all occupied territories.

"I was struck by the emphatic manner in which Faisal said to me that any Arab leader who agreed to cease-fire while Israel remained in occupation of Arab territories was bound to run into trouble with his own people. It was significant that Faisal should have made such a remark.

"My talks with the Shah of Iran and the Prime Minister of Turkey turned on how our three countries might be able to help in promoting an equitable solution of the present crisis. The Turks put to us certain ideas for bringing about a cease-fire and implementation of Security Council Resolution 242, which they had discussed with the diplomatic representatives of countries members of the Security Council and some other countries.

"My impression after talks in Tehran, Ankara and Riyadh is that non-Arab Muslim countries like Turkey and Pakistan and perhaps Iran and Indonesia, might be able at some stage to play a constructive role in promoting a just and lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of Resolution 242.

"I should like you to know that despite the fact that public opinion in Pakistan continues to be greatly agitated over the just cause of the Arabs, in my talks with the leaders of the three countries I have endeavoured throughout to find how we could all play a constructive and responsible role in this crisis.

"Please convey my warm regards to the President.

"With kind regards. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto"

